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NOTE

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2555th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 4 September 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Elleck Kufakunesu MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Burkina Faso, China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2555/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Letter dated 24 August 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16713)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: At the very outset of this meeting, I should like on behalf of the Council to pay tribute to Mr. Léandre Bassole, Representative of Burkina Faso, for his service as President of the Council for the month of August. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Mr. Bassole for the great diplomatic skill and courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 24 August 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16713)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2552nd to 2554th meetings*], I invite the representative of Lebanon and the representative of Israel to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Qatar, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) and Mr. Levin (Israel) took places at the Council table; Mr. Damavandi Kamali (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Birido (Sudan), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Al-Mosfir (United Arab Emirates) and Mr. Noman (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Democratic Yemen and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen) and Mr. Kirça (Turkey) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. KIRÇA (Turkey): First of all, we extend our felicitations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. With your proved qualities and experience, we are confident that your guidance will again constitute an important asset in the Council's deliberations.

6. We also wish to pay tribute to Mr. Bassole, representative of Burkina Faso, who presided effectively and with skill and wisdom over the Council's work last month.

7. Upon the request of the Government of Lebanon, the Council is addressing itself to the situation in that country. The very fact that this lofty body is once again engaged in a discussion of this subject is proof of the devastating impact and consequences of the invasion of

that small country by Israel more than two years ago. Lebanon has a unique delicate mosaic as a society and an intricate institutional fabric. The country has long been experiencing problems, but it was the Israeli onslaught that dynamited its very foundations. The tragedy and suffering of the people of Lebanon are unequalled, except for the plight of the Palestinians who, by no accident, suffer at the hands of the same oppressor—Israel.

8. We are speaking today in order to underline our deep concern with the fate and future of Lebanon and to reiterate our support for the full restoration of Lebanese sovereignty over all its territory within the internationally recognized boundaries. The re-establishment of Lebanese control over Lebanese territories is an essential condition for the successful pursuit and completion of the process of reconciliation and reconstruction in that country. Turkey, with its long historical experience in the region and its close association over many centuries with the evolution of the events that shaped the area, is in a special position to understand and appreciate the meaning and importance of the current state of affairs in Lebanon. This is why we are deeply disturbed by what is happening in and to Lebanon.

9. The representative of Lebanon in his statement [*2552nd meeting*] convincingly and in great detail depicted the policies and practices of the Israeli occupation authorities in southern Lebanon. We do not need to recount them here. In southern Lebanon life has been gravely disrupted for a people that has already endured untold sorrows and suffering. Israel's persistence in this negative behaviour has been one of the leading causes of tension and violence in the region and represents one of the main impediments to the emergence of any reasonable prospect for a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

10. We therefore call on Israel to abide by its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law by respecting the rights of the people in the occupied territories and the indigenous character of these lands.

11. Lebanon can and will solve its problems only when it is freed from the yoke of foreign domination and occupation. That is why Israel's prompt withdrawal from Lebanon is essential for the salvation of Lebanon. The continued occupation of southern Lebanon will only retard the process of Lebanese rehabilitation and enforce existing divisions in that country. The sooner Israel recognizes that its invasion of Lebanon and the continuation of its presence there have brought neither peace nor security but only more suffering for everyone and further instability and tension for all concerned, the better. We have heard the representative of Israel profess that Israel intends to withdraw from Lebanon [*ibid.*]. We urge Israel to put that intention into effect without further delay.

12. A free, united and reconciled Lebanon is what the people of Lebanon deserve. This is also indispensable for the overall stability of the region. Israel's withdrawal is one major prerequisite for that objective to be a reality. In conditions acceptable to the Lebanese Government, all other foreign forces now in Lebanon must also evacuate that country. The Lebanese people know best how to put their society and their country together again. They have done it in the past and have succeeded in establishing a creative and prosperous society. We are confident that, if left alone and free from foreign interference from whatever quarter, the Lebanese people will again come together. This time the Lebanese people know the task is more difficult, but succeed they must, because if they do not they know they will perish. All countries are under the obligation to help the Lebanese Government in this monumental national task.

13. It is our ardent hope that the Council will now adopt a timely and judicious resolution to help Lebanon move forward and more confidently in its quest for the regaining of its sovereignty and complete independence and for progress in the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction. The representative of Lebanon has stated his Government's expectations of the Council. We call on the Council to meet those legitimate demands.

14. Miss MONCADA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: It is a pleasure for my delegation to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council during the month of September, a month that represents the beginning of important activities for the international community. In spite of the geographical distance between our two countries, we have close historical ties with your country, Sir, based on the struggle of our peoples to liberate our countries from oppression and foreign exploitation. As members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we share common goals and aspirations.

15. We have similar links with Burkina Faso, whose Permanent Representative, Ambassador Bassole, intelligently and objectively occupied the presidency during the month of August.

16. In his appearance before the Council, the representative of Lebanon provided us with complete details concerning the cruel and inhuman treatment to which the inhabitants of southern Lebanon are being subjected under Israel's illegal occupation. That conduct, typical of Israel in all occupied Arab territories, comes as no surprise. Just a few months ago, we also heard the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) [*2540th meeting*] relate the latest deaths and suffering of his people in the Palestinian refugee camp of Ein El-Helweh. The fact that Israel has taken every measure to isolate southern Lebanon, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district is unknown only to those who do not want to read the newspapers.

17. All of this stems from Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its illegal occupation of that country which con-

stitutes an important link in the expansionist plans of Israel with the ultimate goal of displacing and annihilating the Arab and Palestinian people.

18. The invasion of Lebanon in itself and its harmful effects constitute one more problem created by Israel for the Arab nation, however the representative of the occupying Power may attempt to convince us here that it is the Palestinian people and the Lebanese themselves that are responsible for Lebanon's problems. He has even been so brazen as to tell us that occupied southern Lebanon is a paradise, thanks to the generosity of the occupying Power.

19. It is clear that the policy practised daily by the Zionist régime in that specific territory has as its objective the annihilation of the Palestinian people and the destruction of the sovereignty, independence and unity of Lebanon. In accordance with those objectives, Israel has illegally built installations to divert the waters of the Wazzani and Litani rivers towards its territory with a view to isolating completely the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district.

20. What is Israel attempting through these inhuman actions? The Council can accept no explanation, no pretext, since any action of Israel in occupied Arab territories cannot be legitimate or peaceful, in so far as the occupation itself is illegal and illegitimate. We have stated this on earlier occasions before the Council and we repeat it now: as long as Israel continues to occupy southern Lebanon, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, their inhabitants will continue to suffer terror, oppression and the denial of their most fundamental rights. Hence, it is essential that the Council use every means within its reach to have Israel implement its resolutions. In the case of Lebanon, in particular, there were many resolutions adopted in 1982, including resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), the latter demanding that Israel withdraw from Lebanon. The Council cannot disregard the fact that, if Israel has not yet heeded any of these resolutions and has, on the contrary, strengthened its inhuman and illegal policies day by day, it is not doing this on its own, but rather supported by the military and political might lent it by a permanent member of the Council which, like Israel, resorts to force and intimidation to subjugate the peoples that valiantly struggle to obtain or maintain their independence.

21. In spite of obstacles, the Council must continue to demand that Israel adhere to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of international law and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] requiring that the occupying Power respect the basic human rights of the inhabitants of the territories it occupies.

22. It is precisely at this difficult time for mankind, when weapons and force are used against the peoples of Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, that the Council has the greatest responsibility to ensure that this situation does not continue and to promote peace and put an end to violence.

23. The specific problem we are now considering can at no time be separated from the overall situation of the Middle East.

24. The ruthless and inhuman Israeli practices carried out against the population of southern Lebanon are a result of Israel's invasion and illegal occupation of that territory two years ago, and that invasion and illegal occupation are the result of a Zionist policy that attempts to deny the Palestinian people its right to exist as a people and its right to self-determination and independence as a nation. Hence it is essential to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East on the fundamental basis of the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

25. While it is a fact that there is already a framework for a peaceful solution to the situation in the Middle East, it is also true that we are still far from its implementation, and that is the task we must tackle. We must demand the immediate implementation of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

26. Furthermore, it is essential that the International Peace Conference on the Middle East be convened as soon as possible, with the participation of the main protagonists to the conflict. If there are negative responses to that proposal, which was endorsed by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983 and by the overwhelming majority of Council members, it is precisely because dialogue and negotiated political solutions are of no interest to those who resort solely to the strength of weapons to settle situations unilaterally. That cannot and must not be accepted by the Council.

27. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) [*interpretation from French*]: On behalf of my delegation, allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. You represent a country, Zimbabwe, with which Burkina Faso has close relations of friendship and brotherhood, and your capabilities as a wise and experienced diplomat ensure the successful outcome of the work of the Council under your guidance.

28. The facts reported to the Council by the representative of Lebanon in his statement at the beginning of our debate constitute proof to my delegation that Israel's true intentions in its occupation of southern Lebanon are far from those of guaranteeing the security of the northern frontier of the Jewish State. Can the security of a frontier be guaranteed by terrorizing the inhabitants of southern Lebanon day and night? Can this objective be attained by arresting civilians and imprisoning them in camps? Can the security of Israel be guaranteed by obstructing and working systematically to paralyse all exchanges of goods between south-

ern Lebanon and the rest of the country? And what is one to say of other arbitrary and inhumane practices, such as burning crops, preventing the harvesting of grains, obliging the inhabitants to harvest crops prematurely and pillaging historical sites?

29. By committing these tragic acts in the occupied regions of southern Lebanon, thus flagrantly violating the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments—in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] The Hague Conventions II of 1899 and IV of 1907 respecting the Laws and Conventions of War on Land,[2] and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—the Israeli authorities are clearly not seeking to attain that objective their representative so calmly and serenely outlined before the Council.

30. Far from it, these reprehensible acts of the Israeli forces are designed artificially to inflame and sustain tension in southern Lebanon in order to justify, in the eyes of the public, the perpetuation of the military occupation which the Tel Aviv authorities advocate as the sole means of achieving a settlement in their conflict with Lebanon and the other Arab States of the region.

31. As if the suffering and damage caused to the peaceful inhabitants of southern Lebanon by the misdeeds of the occupying forces were not sufficient, Israel has now taken its ambitions so far as to seek to divert the waters of the Litani and Wazzani Rivers and thereby deprive the population of the occupied area of a precious natural resource.

32. Although this report remains yet to be confirmed, it has caused my delegation deep disquiet. For more than a decade my country has suffered from the ravages of a drought and is better placed than many to appreciate the value of water. We fully understand the apprehensions of Lebanon, given these reports of the projected diversion of waters by the Israeli occupying forces. Should these legitimate apprehensions be confirmed, my delegation would associate itself with the other members of the Council in resolutely condemning what could only be described as an act of outright piracy. Meanwhile, we trust that information reaching us on this subject will not go beyond the phase of a mere rumour which will be refuted by the results of the investigations mentioned by the representative of Lebanon.

33. In addressing the Council on 29 August last [*2552nd meeting*] the representative of Israel sought to justify the occupation of part of Lebanese territory by the armed forces of his country. He even went so far as to describe certain benefits—hypothetical, of course—which this occupation allegedly provides to the local population. All that remains, it would seem, is for the Council to pay tribute to the Israeli army for its Lebanese enterprise.

34. Whatever the opinion of the representative of Israel, and whatever the arguments he may advance, my delegation is firmly convinced that the Lebanese people is the sole master of its destiny. No reason and no principle of international law can or should justify interference, from whatever source, in the internal affairs of a country.

35. It was on the basis of this firm conviction that the Burkina Faso delegation joined the delegations of other non-aligned countries in demanding the withdrawal of the Multinational Forces from Lebanon. The same conviction now leads it to urge Israel strictly to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Council, particularly resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), and unconditionally to withdraw its occupation armies from southern Lebanon without further delay.

36. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

37. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): It gives me great pleasure to address the Council under your eminent leadership, Sir. Hailing from Zimbabwe, you bring with you the experience of a man who knows too well the agony of foreign occupation, as well as the determination of a heroic people fighting for independence and dignity. So it is with Lebanon's freedom fighters, who have transformed southern Lebanon into a battlefield and a nightmare haunting the Israeli forces of occupation. As an accomplished diplomat, you have already manifested your wisdom and tact and, above all, your profound sense of fairness.

38. To your predecessor, Ambassador Bassole, under whose stewardship the Council started this debate on the situation in southern Lebanon, I offer my congratulations on his excellent performance as President of the Security Council for the month of August.

39. I cannot even attempt to restate the well-documented complaint of the representative of Lebanon. He was clear and lucid. He described, in plain language, the tragedy of the Lebanese people, languishing under the yoke of Israeli occupation, and the atrocities of an occupying Power that violates international law, the 1949 Geneva Conventions,[3] and, indeed, resolutions of the Council. His requests were equally candid: ending Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon, as set forth in resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) unanimously adopted by the Council; cessation of Israeli practices against the inhabitants of the south, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district; lifting the Israeli siege of the occupied territories; stressing Lebanon's inalienable right to its waters; and, finally, obliging Israel to respect the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, norms of international law, the 1949 Geneva Conventions, other international conventions and The Hague Conventions II of 1899 and IV of 1907 respecting the Laws and Conventions of War on Land.[2]

40. But what was Israel's response, as stated by Mr. Blum? His main argument ran as follows: Why worry about the situation in southern Lebanon, when there are more serious problems elsewhere in the country? To make his point he quoted extensively from news reports highlighting "the already shaky security situation in Lebanon arising out of the ongoing internecine warfare in that country, in particular in and around Beirut and in the north" [*ibid., para. 60*]. He actually tried to put the blame for Israel's atrocities on the Lebanese Government—more so, because it had abrogated the Agreement of 17 May 1983, which was nothing less than an Israeli-American diktat to the Lebanese people. Not only that, but he went on to say that Lebanon's complaint was diversionary propaganda. Such is the response and the attitude of an aggressive Israel, whose *raison d'être* is forceful expansion and territorial aggrandizement. Israel's systematic plan of action is simple: justify, then invade; occupy, then justify.

41. Bolstered by generous American military, economic and political support, Israel does not even feel that it owes the Council an explanation for its continued occupation of southern Lebanon, for its colonial policies and malpractices, and for its utter disregard for the Council as well as for international law. Only Israel, which is daily nurtured by American assistance, and which is now emboldened by a strategic alliance with the United States, can afford to flout the Council. And why not? For Israel has been systematically shielded by an American veto, a veto which has for all practical purposes rendered the Council powerless and toothless. Only countervailing power is what Israel understands, and so it is with the United States, which brought back its Marines from Lebanon, leaving behind its strategic ally well in control of southern Lebanon.

42. One wonders why it is that Lebanon's complaint is seen by Israel as diversionary propaganda. Is it too much for a suffering country to bring its case to the Council, again and again, lest the world forget that its territory is usurped by force of arms? And why should not Lebanon unleash a political and media campaign to alert world public opinion to the plight of its people and to seek redress from the Council, whose obligation it is to defend the Charter and to implement its own resolutions? Israel apparently needs more time to tighten its grip on southern Lebanon and to transform it into a permanent feature of its expansionist dreams. To bring to light the misery of the Lebanese under Israeli occupation, to unmask the brutality of an invading army, and to expose Israel's designs on, and plunder of, Lebanon's natural resources is no propaganda. Those are established facts that no blanket denial can cover up. But Lebanon is supposed to shelve not only the problems of occupation, but Israeli occupation itself, until annexation becomes a fact of life. Is not that what happened to the Syrian Golan Heights and to Jerusalem?

43. And what if Lebanon, unfortunately, has problems elsewhere in the country? Does that justify continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon? Israel is actually taking advantage of Lebanon's problems, many of which are of its own making. The implication of Israel's response to Lebanon's complaint is that the occupation of southern Lebanon is a blessing. The fact is that Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon is the ill of ills for Lebanon, that it is the most serious danger facing the Lebanese people and its Government, and hence that it is the most urgent problem which the Council has to deal with now. That is why this debate is timely, if not belated, and that is why the Council is called on to respond to the requests of the representative of Lebanon. If there is diversionary propaganda, and there is one example, it can be found in the Israeli response in this debate. That is not new. Israel has, as a matter of expediency, concocted flimsy justifications to implement its policy of expansion. It is the same settler mentality that attempts to create facts by sheer power —the rest is propaganda.

44. Fortunately, southern Lebanon proved to be one place where the fact of military occupation faces the fact of bitter heroic resistance. Two years later, Operation "Peace for Galilee" became operation hell for the Israeli Armed Forces. Together with Israel's atrocities, history records daring operations against Israeli soldiers. The more barbarity by Israeli soldiers, the more resistance by a people dedicated to freeing its land and shaking the very foundation of Israeli arrogance. The longer they stay the more they will bleed. And when they finally withdraw it will be because of the wounds of occupation.

45. The United States has pitifully become hostage to an expansionist Israel. It can go on sustaining Israel and shielding it by its veto, its arms and its alms, but it cannot stifle the will of a people determined to fight and win. Our hearts go out to the martyrs of resistance in southern Lebanon and to every fighting Lebanese man, woman and child. We bow to them in admiration and awe, for they, together with the Palestine resistance movement, represent the conscience of the Arab masses in revolt, whose conflict with zionism and its bankrollers is only beginning to unfold.

46. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Sir, first of all I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. We are convinced that your wisdom and diplomatic skills will be the complete guarantee that the Council will successfully conduct its work this month.

48. We also wish to express our appreciation for the skilful and just way in which your predecessor, the representative of Burkina Faso, Mr. Bassole, led the work of the Council last month.

49. For more than two years the Council and other United Nations bodies have been considering the situation created in the peaceful and non-aligned Republic of Lebanon by the criminal invasion and acts of vandalism that have been committed since then by the Israeli occupation forces in that martyred country.

50. We all recall the slogan that was then held high by the Zionist aggressors—"Peace for Galilee"—in their futile attempt to justify the unjustifiable and to divert the attention of the international community from their real objectives, which were none other than to liquidate Palestinian resistance, deal blows to progressive Lebanese forces, create the conditions that would enable them to set up a Government in Beirut subject to Tel Aviv's orders, help in the placement of United States troops in Lebanon, implement Israel's expansionist policy, lay the bases for further acts of aggression against other Arab States, especially against Syria, and consolidate their presence in the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

51. Neither the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly nor the decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international forums have succeeded in thwarting the diabolical intentions of the Israeli leaders who, in their desire to achieve their objectives, do not even hesitate to commit crimes as horrendous as the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, to mention just those that have aroused the greatest outcry and indignation in world public opinion.

52. Today we are witnessing the intensification of an irrational policy that is totally doomed to failure. It would seem as though the Israeli leaders were attempting to punish the Lebanese people for the humiliating outcome of the so-called international forces in that small country, particularly the forces of their ally and protector, the United States, as well as for the abrogation of the ominous agreement imposed on them by the force of the occupier and pressure from Washington.

53. None the less, my delegation does not believe that these alone are the motives for the most recent Zionist actions in southern Lebanon and for Israel's reluctance to heed Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

54. The eloquent statement by the representative of Lebanon before the Council and his detailed description of the daily violations of international law by Israel reveal the true intentions of the Tel Aviv leaders. Not satisfied with the defeats suffered because of its senseless policy, Israel is attempting to carry out its former plan of extending its borders with southern Lebanon and of including that territory in the annexationist plans it is carrying out in the West Bank, Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip.

55. It is no longer a secret to anyone that this constant defiance by the Zionist authorities of the international community is only possible thanks to the unconditional support that Israel receives from the United States, whose weapons, financing and political and diplomatic support enable that country repeatedly to flout Council resolutions and to implement its aggressive and expansionist policy against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries, with all the dangers that represents for international peace and security.

56. The international community cannot go on accepting the fact that a State Member of the Organization continues with impunity to trample underfoot international law and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is time to put an end to Zionist outrages. The security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be respected. Israel must put an end to its criminal actions in southern Lebanon and withdraw forthwith its invading forces from that country.

57. We hope that the members of the Council will be able to respond to the appeal of the representative of Lebanon and contribute to putting an end to the martyrdom of that long-suffering people by exercising fully the mandate entrusted to them.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 973.

[2] Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

[3] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

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